



Framing Banten's north coastal sea fence as eco-theology and social movement

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Abstract: This study analyzes how the sea fence phenomenon on the north coast of Banten is framed differently by national online media (*Republika*) and local online media (*Kabar Banten*). Through Robert Entman's framing perspective and social movement theory, this research explores how the two media represent the phenomenon as a manifestation of social movements, religious movements, or a combination of both with eco-theological dimensions. Using a qualitative content analysis approach to 12 news articles published in January 2025, the research found significant differences in framing strategies: *Republika* tends to construct narratives with moral-religious and ecotheological dimensions attached to social movements, while *Kabar Banten* emphasizes socio-economic aspects and local community solidarity without explicit religious dimensions. These framing differences not only reflect the media's editorial orientation, but also manifest ideological contestation in representing the relationship between religion, ecology, and social movements in Indonesia. The case of the sea fence illustrates how local environmental resistance is interpreted through distinct ideological lenses, shaped by each media outlet's institutional identity and target audience. *Republika's* ecotheological framing not only moralizes environmental activism through Islamic values but also seeks to legitimize community action within a broader spiritual discourse. In contrast, *Kabar Banten* grounds its reporting in the immediate socio-economic struggles of coastal residents, highlighting the pragmatic and communal aspects of resistance. This juxtaposition reveals the dynamic interplay between national and local narratives in constructing meaning around ecological and religious activism. Ultimately, this study contributes to an understanding of the role of media in shaping public perceptions of ecotheology-based socio-religious movements and demonstrates how media discourse influences community solidarity and environmental consciousness in the digital era.

Keywords: digital media; ecotheology; media framing; sea fences; social movements

Introduction

The presence of digital media as an agent of information democratization has transformed the contemporary socio-political landscape, especially in the formation of public opinion and the mobilization of social movements (Postill & Pink, 2012). In Indonesia, a country with high socio-religious complexity, online media plays a strategic role in constructing narratives about various social phenomena, including movements with social and religious dimensions (Lim, 2017). The media's ability to select and highlight certain aspects of reality, as known in framing theory, significantly influences how the public understands and responds to an issue (Entman, 1993).

In early 2025, the emergence of a 30.6-kilometer-long sea fence along the northern coast of

Banten generated significant public controversy, making it a compelling case for analysis through the lens of media framing theory. The substantial scale of the structure, coupled with its abrupt installation, triggered widespread concern not only regarding its legal and environmental ramifications but also in relation to broader questions of coastal governance and public accountability. The fence's presence introduced a new spatial dynamic that disrupted established socio-ecological relationships, particularly among traditional fishing communities that rely heavily on unhindered access to marine resources. Constructed primarily from bamboo, this extensive barrier stretching across the sea provoked a range of public responses, especially from the coastal communities most directly impacted. For these communities, the structure is not merely a physical obstruction but a symbol of exclusion, marginalization, and contested authority over marine spaces. Their resistance illustrates the underlying conflict between local livelihoods and development interventions that often prioritize infrastructure over social inclusion and ecological sensitivity.

As an intermediary between social reality and public interpretation, the mass media played a pivotal role in shaping the discourse surrounding the sea fence by employing diverse framing strategies. These included the selection and emphasis of certain aspects of the event, the attribution of responsibility, and the construction of narratives around causality and resolution. As a result, different media outlets produced varying interpretations of the fence's purpose, the legitimacy of the actors involved, and the pathways for resolving the conflict. Such variations underscore the power of media framing in influencing public perception, policy debate, and community response within environmental governance contexts.

Amidst the increasingly complex global environmental issues, the concept of eco-theology has emerged as an integration of theological understanding and ecological awareness, becoming increasingly relevant in the discourse of environmental movements in Indonesia (Mangunjaya & McKay, 2012). The phenomenon of sea fences along the northern coast of Banten offers an interesting case study of how eco-theological narratives are constructed, contested, and mobilized by various actors through digital platforms. Mass media, as a mediator between reality and public perception, not only frames the socio-economic aspects of this phenomenon but also its inherent theological-ecological dimensions, creating a complex discursive landscape (Gade, 2019).

This study aims to analyze how national online media (*Republika*) and local online media (*Kabar Banten*) frame the coastal fence issue in the northern coast of Banten, as well as explore whether this phenomenon is constructed as a manifestation of a social movement, a religious movement, or a combination of both with an eco-theological dimension. Using Robert Entman's framing approach (Entman, 1993), this study identifies differences in the framing strategies of the two media and their implications for public understanding of the relationship between social, ecological, and religious dimensions in community movements.

This study is based on the argument that differences in framing by national and local media do not merely reflect geographical orientation but also represent a contestation of narratives about how eco-theological-based social-religious movements are interpreted in contemporary Indonesia (Hefner, 2019). Through a comparative analysis of the framing by *Republika* and *Kabar Banten*, this study seeks to uncover the complex dynamics between community-based solidarity, religious values, and ecological awareness in responding to the structural challenges faced by coastal communities in the digital age.

Although there have been numerous studies on media framing in the context of environmental issues and social movements in Indonesia (Budianta, 2006; Nurhajati & Wijayanto, 2018), there remains a significant gap in understanding how media frames phenomena at the intersection of social, ecological, and religious dimensions, particularly in coastal areas. Studies on eco-theology in Indonesia (Mangunjaya & McKay, 2012; Vella & Ahmad Rizal, 2024) have largely focused on normative and conceptual dimensions, with little exploration of how these concepts are mediated, contested, and operationalized in digital public spaces. Meanwhile, research on religious-social movements has not sufficiently analyzed the differences in framing between national and local media, particularly in the context of conflicts over access to maritime resources.

This study addresses the identified gap by examining the contestation of narratives

surrounding the construction of sea fences along the northern coast of Banten, interpreted as a manifestation of religious-social movements that carry ecotheological dimensions. In doing so, the study contributes to a growing body of scholarship that explores how environmental conflicts, particularly in coastal regions, are entangled with religious values, collective identities, and grassroots mobilization. The sea fence, in this context, functions not only as a contested material infrastructure but also as a symbolic site where competing discourses of ecological justice, religious morality, and spatial rights converge. By situating the conflict within the broader framework of religiously motivated environmentalism, the study highlights how local actors especially those embedded in Islamic traditions mobilize spiritual and theological narratives to challenge perceived ecological degradation and social exclusion.

The originality of this research lies in its development of an interdisciplinary analytical framework that synthesizes Entman's framing theory with concepts from Islamic eco-theology and coastal political ecology. This integrative framework enables a more holistic understanding of how media representations shape, mediate, and circulate distinct public perceptions of the relationship between religion, ecology, and social movements. Furthermore, the study reveals the differentiated roles of national and local media in constructing divergent narratives often aligned with contrasting political, cultural, and institutional interests regarding coastal area management. In doing so, it uncovers how media framing not only reflects but also reinforces the underlying power relations and normative assumptions that inform both policy discourse and community resistance. The study thus offers a novel contribution to the fields of environmental communication, media studies, religious environmentalism, and the political ecology of coastal governance.

Media framing has long been a central concept in mass communication studies, referring to the process of selecting and emphasizing certain aspects of reality in news texts (Entman, 1993). As a research paradigm, framing allows researchers to identify how the media constructs narratives that influence public interpretations of an issue (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010). Robert Entman (Entman, 1993), one of the leading theorists in the framing tradition, identified four main functions of framing: defining the problem, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments, and suggesting solutions.

Reese (2007) argued that framing is not merely a technical process, but a mechanism embedded in power structures and ideology. In the Indonesian context, framing studies have been applied to analyze how the media frames various controversial issues, from religious conflicts (Hefner, 2019) to contemporary social movements (Heryanto & Hadiz, 2005). Nurhajati and Wijayanto (Nurhajati & Wijayanto, 2018) show that Indonesian media often frame social issues in ways that reflect specific political and ideological interests.

The relevance of Entman's framing theory in the context of contemporary Indonesia lies in its analytical capacity to uncover how media organizations navigate and mediate socio-religious complexities in constructing public narratives around social phenomena. Within Indonesia's pluralistic and multi-religious society, the intersection of religion, politics, and media creates a dynamic discursive space where various ideological interests compete for legitimacy. In this context, the media does not function merely as a neutral transmitter of information but as an active agent in shaping public discourse. Entman's framework provides a systematic approach to examining how certain aspects of an issue are selected and emphasized while others are marginalized or omitted according to institutional, ideological, and socio-political considerations.

A growing body of Indonesian scholarship has employed Entman's framing model to investigate media coverage of political and religious issues, consistently demonstrating that the ideological orientation and religious affiliations of media outlets significantly influence their framing strategies. These studies reveal that framing practices are often shaped by the media's institutional interests, ownership structures, audience demographics, and editorial alignments. In cases involving religious sensitivities such as those related to moral policy, interfaith relations, or religious-based environmental movements framing becomes a crucial mechanism through which media outlets assert interpretive authority, reinforce dominant values, or mobilize specific constituencies. Therefore, Entman's framework remains highly relevant for understanding how media in Indonesia reflect, construct, and contest meanings in issues that are deeply embedded in the fabric of religious, cultural, and political life.

Studies of social movements have undergone significant evolution in recent decades, shifting from a resource-based paradigm and political opportunity structure toward a perspective that pays more attention to cultural, identity, and emotional dimensions (Goodwin & Jasper, 2012). In the context of Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, social movements often intersect with religious dimensions, creating unique hybridities (Hefner, 2019; Bruinessen, 2013). Religious social movements in Indonesia have a long history, ranging from Islamic-based anti-colonial movements to contemporary environmental movements infused with religious ethics. argues that this religious-social hybridity not only reflects Indonesia's socio-cultural reality but also serves as an effective mobilization strategy in a religious society (Sebastian & Alkaff, 2024).

Religious social movements in Indonesia have a long and complex history, ranging from Islamic-based anti-colonial resistance to contemporary environmental movements grounded in religious ethics (Bruinessen, 2013). This historical continuity illustrates that religion has functioned not only as a spiritual foundation but also as a powerful socio-political force in shaping collective action. During the colonial period, Islamic scholars and *pesantren* networks played a central role in mobilizing communities against colonial domination. In more recent developments, this legacy has transformed into new forms of religio-environmental activism in which ecological concerns are interpreted through theological narratives particularly within Islamic teachings that emphasize human responsibility as *khalifah* (stewards) and the principle of ecological balance (*mīzān*). This evolution highlights the adaptability of religious discourse in responding to emerging global and local challenges, including environmental degradation and ecological injustice. Ichwan (2013) argues that this religious-social hybridity not only reflects Indonesia's socio-cultural reality but also serves as an effective mobilization strategy within a deeply religious society. In a national context where religious identity strongly influences moral behavior, political affiliation, and civic engagement, the incorporation of religious language and symbolism into social movements enhances their cultural resonance and legitimacy. This hybridity enables a strategic bridge between grassroots participation and broader normative claims, thereby increasing the reach and influence of such movements. In environmental struggles such as those observed in the coastal region of Banten the fusion of ecological awareness with religious ethics produces a culturally embedded and morally grounded resistance. This form of activism challenges not only ecological destruction but also the structural marginalization of local communities. Thus, religious-social hybridity operates not merely as a reflection of cultural identity, but as a strategic response to the complexities of mobilizing collective action within Indonesia's religion-infused public sphere.

In the digital age, the dynamics of social-religious movements have undergone significant transformations. Lim (Lim, 2017) demonstrates how social media and digital platforms facilitate the formation of solidarity based on religious identity while expanding the reach of social movements. Beta, A. R. (2019) analyzes the phenomenon of digital activism among young Indonesian Muslims who use online platforms to campaign for social issues within an Islamic ethical framework. The development of online media has created a new landscape in the production and consumption of information, characterized by decentralization, personalization, and narrative fragmentation (Tapsell, 2017). In the Indonesian context, online media facilitates the proliferation of voices and perspectives that were previously marginalized in the conventional media ecosystem (Lim, 2017).

Nugroho and Syarief (2012) identified the phenomenon of digital balkanization in Indonesia, where the fragmentation of information creates echo chambers that hinder the formation of public consensus on various social issues. In line with this, Mietzner and Muhtadi (2018) argue that online media in Indonesia tends to be ideologically polarized, reflecting and reinforcing existing socio-political divisions (Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2018).

In the context of reporting on social movements, the contestation of narratives among media outlets reflects not only differences in perspective but also constitutes a manifestation of power struggles in defining social reality (Tapsell, 2017) This competition goes beyond editorial variation; it signifies the operation of symbolic power embedded in public discourse production. The mass media do not function as neutral transmitters of information but act as active agents in constructing social meaning through processes of selection, emphasis, and framing of particular issues. As such, the media become a crucial arena in which ideological contestations take place, especially within contexts marked by political polarization and competing claims in the public sphere. (Budianta,

2006) demonstrates that Indonesian media frame social movements differently based on their ideological positions and economic interests. Her findings indicate that the framing strategies employed by media institutions are deeply shaped by their political alignments and ownership structures. Media outlets with independent or progressive orientations tend to highlight structural dimensions and grassroots voices within social movements, while those affiliated with corporate or state interests often depict such movements as threats to order and stability (Gade, 2019).

Ecotheology is a fusion of theological perspectives and ecological concerns. Ecotheology has become an important conceptual framework for understanding environmental movements in contemporary Indonesia (Mangunjaya & McKay, 2012). Rakhmat (2022) identifies how Islamic values of *khalifah* (stewardship) and *amanah* (trust) have been integrated into environmental ethics that influence ecological activism among Indonesian Muslim communities (Rakhmat, 2022). As argued by Vella N. and Ahmad Rizal D. (Vella & Ahmad Rizal, 2024), Islamic ecotheology in Indonesia has strong roots in Sufi traditions that emphasize cosmic unity and human responsibility toward nature.

In the coastal and maritime context, the concept of ecotheology holds particular relevance given the significance of the sea in the socio-economic life and cultural identity of many Indonesian communities (Satria, 2015). Adhuri (2013) demonstrates how traditional knowledge systems and practices of marine resource management (such as *sasi* in eastern Indonesia) often have inherent spiritual dimensions, creating what Gade (Gade, 2019) refers to as “ecological piety.” According to him, ecotheology is piety expressed through ethical relations with the environment.

Smith et al. (2023), analyze that eco-theological movements in Indonesia often combine religious teachings, local traditions, and science with economic and legal values, then frame their struggles in moral and religious terms to drive behavioral change in society. In this context, phenomena such as sea fences are not merely arenas of economic-political interest contests but also spaces where theological interpretations of human-sea relations are negotiated (Gunawan & Visser, 2012).

Based on the literature review above, this study integrates Entman's framing theory with perspectives on religious-social movements, media narrative contestation, and eco-theology to analyze the framing of sea fences along the northern coast of Banten. This integrated framework enables researchers to identify how *Republika* and *Kabar Banten* select and highlight certain aspects of the sea fence phenomenon, and how this framing reflects and reinforces narratives about the relationship between social, ecological, and religious dimensions within the community movement.

As argued by Bruinessen (Van Bruinessen, 2013) and Heryanto and Hadiz (Heryanto & Hadiz, 2005), Indonesian media often construct narratives about social movements in ways that reflect their socio-religious orientations. This study applies these insights to analyze how *Republika* (with its affiliation to the Muslim community) and *Kabar Banten* (with its focus on local communities) frame the sea fence issue as a manifestation of social, religious, ecological, or hybrid movements. This study also integrates an eco-theological perspective into the framing analysis, exploring how narratives about the relationship between humans, God, and nature are constructed in news coverage of sea fences. As argued by Gade (2019) and Rakhmat (2022), the media plays an important role in shaping public perceptions of the theological dimensions of environmental issues (Gade, 2019; Rakhmat, 2022). A comparative analysis between *Republika* and *Kabar Banten* allows researchers to identify how the concept of ecotheology is mobilized or marginalized in the framing of the sea fence phenomenon on the northern coast of Banten.

Method

This study adopts a qualitative approach with a framing content analysis design to explore how *Republika* and *Kabar Banten* frame the issue of sea walls on the north coast of Banten. This approach was chosen to reveal the meaning and context in media texts, while framing analysis helps identify narrative structures in news reports (Maxwell, 2008; Mustari & Rahman, 2012; Rahman et al., 2023). The research design is in line with methodological recommendations that emphasize an interpretive approach in media content analysis in Indonesia.

Data were collected from 12 news articles on sea walls along the northern coast of Banten published by the two online media outlets, *Republika Online* and *Kabar Banten Online*, with six articles each in January 2025, during which the sea wall issue was a public concern. Data collection was conducted through online archive access and systematic documentation. The analysis was conducted using Robert Entman's framing framework, which includes four dimensions: problem definition, causes, moral evaluation, and recommendations for resolution (Entman, 1993). The analysis process followed a protocol that included comprehensive reading, coding, and intermediate comparison. To ensure credibility, analytical triangulation techniques were used.

In identifying the eco-theological dimension of the sea fence discourse, the researchers formulated a set of analytical indicators derived from relevant scholarly literature on eco-theology, environmental movements, and Islamic ecological thought. These indicators functioned as conceptual tools to trace and interpret the religious-ethical components embedded within the narratives, particularly those that reflect moral obligations toward nature and divine responsibility in environmental stewardship. Moreover, the analysis was conducted with careful attention to the broader socio-political and historical contexts that underpin the emergence of these narratives, as emphasized by (Buechler, 2016). This contextual approach was essential to situate the eco-theological framing within Indonesia's evolving history of environmental governance, religious activism, and civil society engagement. By embedding the analysis within this complex backdrop, the study was able to uncover deeper meanings and implications regarding the articulation of religion and environmental concerns in media discourse. Nonetheless, the study acknowledges certain limitations, particularly the analytical scope being confined to only two media outlets, which may limit the generalizability of the findings. Additionally, the relatively short data collection period could have excluded significant developments or emerging narratives beyond the temporal boundaries of the research. To address these limitations, the study employed a rigorous qualitative methodology involving in-depth textual analysis and triangulation with relevant secondary literature. This approach enhanced the analytical robustness by ensuring that interpretations were substantiated by both empirical data and established academic work, thus reinforcing the credibility and validity of the research despite its inherent constraints.

Results and Discussion

Framing of the Sea Fence by *Republika*

The analysis of news articles published by *Republika* reveals a consistent and recurring framing pattern that portrays the sea fence phenomenon not merely as an environmental or spatial issue, but more profoundly as a form of social movement imbued with moral-religious and eco-theological values. This framing positions the actions of the affected communities—particularly local fishermen—not solely as a response to environmental disruption, but as a morally driven collective mobilization anchored in religious ethics and theological understandings of human-nature relationships. By emphasizing these dimensions, *Republika* constructs a narrative that aligns environmental resistance with spiritual and communal responsibility, thereby elevating the movement beyond utilitarian concerns. This approach suggests an effort to legitimize grassroots opposition through a culturally resonant discourse that integrates Islamic moral frameworks with ecological consciousness. Consequently, the media's portrayal shapes public perception by reinforcing the notion that protecting coastal environments can be an expression of religious duty and moral obligation, rather than mere socio-economic necessity.

Republika defines sea fencing not merely as an administrative or environmental issue, but as a manifestation of structural injustice with moral dimensions. The article titled “Sea Fencing Violates Regulations, Efforts to Obtain Rights Unlawfully” (January 9, 2025) explicitly links this phenomenon to efforts to privatize public space “*The construction of sea fences indicates attempts by people to obtain rights to land in marine waters through improper means.*” (*Republika.co.id, 2025c*). This framing aligns with Ichwan's (Ichwan, 2013) analysis of how Islamic media in Indonesia often construct social issues within an implicit moral framework rooted in religious ethics. Although it does not explicitly use religious terminology, *Republika*'s narrative about unrightfulness and privatization resonates with the concept of social justice in Islam and the principle that the sea is a divine gift that should be used for the common good (Mangunjaya & McKay, 2012).

In diagnosing the causes, Republika highlights the narrative of conflict between capitalist interests and the public interest. The news article “From Cangkir Island, a ‘Mysterious’ Sea Fence is Built” (January 9, 2025) presents speculation about the economic motives behind the fence: *“Although there is no definite answer as to the reason for the existence of the sea fence, rumors are already circulating among the community. ‘They say it’s going to be filled in,’ said one resident. He was referring to the widespread coastal reclamation in Jakarta Bay. ‘They say they’ll build tall buildings there, and we’ll all be evicted.’”* (Republika.co.id, 2025b).

This framing creates an antagonistic narrative between capitalist forces and the local community, which, according to Hefner (Hefner, 2019), is a common characteristic in contemporary Indonesian Islamic-based social justice discourse. The narrative of eviction and the powerlessness of the local community activates a moral framework that, although not explicitly religious, resonates with the tradition of defending the *mustaz’afin* (the oppressed) in Islamic social discourse and the view that excessive exploitation of nature is a form of injustice (Rakhmat, 2022).

Moral judgment in Republika’s reporting has a strong ecological dimension with implicit theological undertones, as seen in the news article “Ombudsman’s Findings: 30-Kilometer Sea Wall in Tangerang Damages Ecosystem” (January 9, 2025): *“The bamboo fence erected without permission not only obstructs the movement of fishing boats but also disrupts the flow of seawater and damages marine habitats. Many ecosystems have been disrupted due to the fence.”* (Republika.co.id, 2025e).

This framing, which integrates social justice and ecological sustainability, aligns with Mangunjaya and McKay’s (Mangunjaya & McKay, 2012) analysis of the emergence of “ecotheology” in contemporary Islamic discourse in Indonesia. Although it does not explicitly use religious terminology, Republika’s narrative on ecosystem damage activates an ethical framework that resonates with the Islamic concepts of *khalifah* (steward) and *fiqh al-bi’ah* (Islamic environmental jurisprudence) as conceptualized by Vella N. and Ahmad Rizal D. (2024).

The use of the term *Amanah* in the quote has special significance, as in Islamic discourse, this concept refers to the trust given by Allah to humans to manage nature responsibly (Gade, 2019). By choosing to quote a statement that uses this terminology, Republika implicitly frames ecological destruction as a violation of religious obligations. Republika frames the resolution of the problem through the intervention of state authority, as seen in the news article “Receiving Instructions from Prabowo, KKP Seals Off Coastal Fence in Banten Waters” (January 9, 2025): *“The sealing was carried out on the instructions of Indonesian President Prabowo Subianto... We are sealing it off. This has gone viral, and the President has given instructions.”* (Republika.co.id, 2025a).

This framing positions state authority as an agent of justice restoration, which, according to Bruinessen (Van Bruinessen, 2013), resonates with the concept of leadership in Islamic political tradition. The emphasis on the role of the president (as *ulu al-amr*) in resolving conflicts and protecting the public interest creates a narrative that, although not explicitly religious, is in line with the values of just leadership in Islamic discourse. In the news article Minister Trenggono Threatens to Remove 30 Km of Sea Fence in Tangerang (January 9, 2025), Republika quoted the minister’s statement emphasizing ecological restoration *“We will return the sea to its original function as a source of life for coastal communities and a habitat for various marine creatures. The balance of the ecosystem must be restored.”* (Republika.co.id, 2025d)

This framing resonates with the eco-theological concept of restoring cosmic balance (Rakhmat, 2022) and the view that human intervention should be directed toward restoring, not exploiting, nature as a manifestation of humanity’s responsibility toward God’s creation (Vella & Ahmad Rizal, 2024). This statement reflects a significant alignment between media framing and eco-theological discourse, wherein nature is conceptualized not merely as a resource but as a sacred trust endowed by the divine. The notion of restoring cosmic balance underscores the idea that environmental degradation is a consequence of the disruption in the harmonious relationship between humanity and the divine order of creation. In this framework, human engagement with the environment is viewed through a moral and theological lens, emphasizing the imperative of stewardship rather than exploitation. Accordingly, restorative environmental intervention is framed as a spiritual obligation—an act of ethical responsibility that upholds the sanctity of nature as part of God’s creation. This perspective integrates ecological awareness with theological ethics, positioning environmental care as a form of devotion and a manifestation of faith-driven accountability.

Framing of the Sea Fence by Kabar Banten

Unlike Republika, analysis of Kabar Banten's news reports shows framing that emphasizes socio-economic dimensions and local community solidarity, without significant religious overtones. Kabar Banten defines the sea fence primarily as a threat to the economic activities and mobility of fishermen, as seen in the news article "Disrupting Fishermen's Activities and Marine Life, KKP Seals Mysterious Sea Fence in Pantura, Tangerang Regency, Banten" (January 9, 2025) *"The bamboo fence in the sea is severely disrupting fishermen's activities in the area around the North Coast or Pantura of Tangerang Regency, Banten... In fact, this area serves as an access point for local residents who work as fishermen."* (Kabar Banten, 2025b).

This framing aligns with Heryanto & Hadiz's (Heryanto & Hadiz, 2005) analysis of how local media in Indonesia tend to define issues within concrete frameworks directly relevant to the daily lives of local communities. Unlike Republika, which emphasizes the moral-structural dimension, Kabar Banten focuses on the practical implications of the sea fence phenomenon for mobility and the economy. This emphasizes the direct economic impact of the sea fence, without linking it to moral or religious dimensions as Republika does. This approach reflects what Ferrol-Schulte et al. (2014) refer to as "environmental materialism" in Indonesian coastal discourse, where ecological issues are framed primarily from the perspective of material well-being.

Kabar Banten adopts a framing approach that attributes the root causes of the issue primarily to administrative and governance-related shortcomings, with a particular focus on regulatory non-compliance and procedural negligence. This perspective is clearly articulated in its coverage titled *"DKP Banten Confirms Seawall in Tangerang Illegal"* (January 23, 2025), which reports that "The area claimed by the seawall does not have a Spatial Utilization Activity Compliance Approval (PKKP) according to the Ministry of Marine Affairs and Fisheries. It does not have an environmental impact analysis (Amdal)" (Kabar Banten, 2025a). By foregrounding these legal and procedural violations, the outlet draws public attention to institutional oversight failures and the disregard for established spatial planning and environmental governance mechanisms. Rather than framing the seawall controversy through ecological, cultural, or socio-economic lenses, Kabar Banten underscores the accountability of state institutions in enforcing compliance. This framing strategy reflects a localized media orientation that critically engages with bureaucratic performance and policy implementation in the context of coastal development.

This framing reflects what Nugroho and Syarief (Nugroho & Syarief, 2012) refer to as "spatial politics" in the Indonesian context, where social conflicts are often articulated within administrative and legal frameworks. Unlike Republika, which emphasizes structural conflicts of interest, Kabar Banten highlights procedural and regulatory aspects. This emphasizes the technical-managerial aspects of the problem, without linking it to moral or religious narratives as Republika does. This approach is in line with what Satria (Satria, 2015) refers to as bureaucratic rationality in the management of Indonesia's coastal resources.

The moral assessment in Kabar Banten's reporting focuses more on socio-economic injustice, as seen in the news article "There is a Sea Fence, Tanara Fishermen in Serang Regency Claim to be Affected, Boats Damaged" (January 28, 2025): *"The sea fence is individual in nature, whereas the sea cannot be controlled by individuals. It is unethical for the sea to be controlled by an oligarchy."* (Kabar Banten, 2025d).

The use of the term "oligarchy" is significant, referring to Mietzner and Muhtadi (Mietzner & Muhtadi, 2018), where this terminology in contemporary Indonesian discourse signifies class-based criticism of the concentration of economic and political power. Unlike Republika, which frames injustice within an implicit religious moral framework, Kabar Banten uses a political-economic framework.

This framing constructs the conflict in terms of a class struggle between big capital and small fishermen, without the eco-theological dimension as done by Republika. This approach is in line with Gunawan and Visser's (Gunawan & Visser, 2012) analysis of how issues of access to coastal resources in Indonesia are often framed in terms of power inequality.

Kabar Banten frames the resolution of the problem through collective action involving the local community, as seen in the news article "Dozens of Fishermen Remove Sea Fences in Tanara, Serang District" (January 26, 2025): *"Dozens of fishermen carried out an action to remove sea fences in the Pedaleman sea area of Tanara District, Serang Regency, on Sunday, January 26, 2025. This*

was done because the presence of the sea fences was disrupting the fishermen's activities.” (Kabar Banten, 2025c).

The framing by mentioning Tanara indicates that the sea fences are not only in Kohod Village, Tangerang, but have also reached Tanara District, Serang. This emphasizes what Postill and Pink (Postill & Pink, 2012) refer to as place-based activism, where community solidarity is activated in response to threats to shared space and resources. Unlike *Republika*, which emphasizes the role of state authorities, *Kabar Banten* highlights local community agents in resolving issues.

This framing emphasizes the empowerment and autonomy of local communities, without linking it to religious values as *Republika* does. This approach reflects what Adhuri (Adhuri, 2013) refers to as community-based resource management, which emphasizes the active role of local communities in managing and protecting coastal ecosystems.

Contested Narratives about Social-Religious Movements: Analysis of Religious, Ecological, and Socio-Political

A comparative analysis of the framing by *Republika* and *Kabar Banten* reveals a contestation of narratives regarding how the coastal fence phenomenon is interpreted as a manifestation of social, religious, or hybrid movements. *Republika*, though not explicitly using religious terminology, constructs a narrative resonant with Islamic values of social justice. This framing creates what Hefner (Hefner, 2019) refers to as a discursive tradition, in which contemporary social issues are integrated into an implicit ethical framework rooted in religious tradition. The sea wall phenomenon, in *Republika*'s framing, becomes a manifestation of a broader contestation between community-based social justice (with implicit religious legitimacy) and predatory capitalism.

In contrast, *Kabar Banten* frames the same phenomenon as a community-based social movement without significant religious dimensions. This framing aligns with Lim's (Lim, 2017) research on the emergence of civic activism in contemporary Indonesia, where community solidarity is activated based on shared interests rather than religious identity. In *Kabar Banten*'s narrative, the sea fence becomes a symbol of contestation between the rights of local communities and economic-political forces that threaten their access to resources.

This contestation of narratives has important implications for understanding how religious-social movements are constructed in Indonesian public discourse. As argued by Ichwan (Ichwan, 2013), the hybridity between social and religious dimensions in community movements in Indonesia is not uniform but varies depending on the context and actors involved. The differences in framing between *Republika* and *Kabar Banten* reflect not only the editorial orientation of the media but also the diversity in understanding the relationship between religion and social activism in contemporary Indonesia.

The framing differences between *Republika* and *Kabar Banten* have potential implications for the formation of community solidarity in responding to the sea wall phenomenon. *Republika*'s framing, which integrates moral-religious dimensions with social movements, has the potential to activate solidarity that transcends geographical boundaries. As analyzed by Bruinessen (Van Bruinessen, 2013), a religiously based ethical framework can facilitate the formation of an imagined community that extends the reach of solidarity beyond the directly affected community. In this context, the sea wall phenomenon is not merely understood as a problem for fishermen in the northern coast of Banten, but as a manifestation of structural injustice with moral resonance for a broader community.

Conversely, *Kabar Banten*'s framing, which emphasizes solidarity based on place and concrete interests, has the potential to activate more intense mobilization at the local level. As argued by Heryanto and Hadiz (2005), local socio-economic and political frameworks can be more effective in mobilizing collective action among directly affected communities. In this context, the sea fence phenomenon is understood primarily as a threat to the livelihoods and mobility of local fishermen, which requires a community-based collective response.

This contrast is in line with Tapsell's (Tapsell, 2017) analysis of narrative fragmentation in the Indonesian media ecosystem, which creates multiple publics with different understandings and responses to social issues. The differences in framing between *Republika* and *Kabar Banten* reflect how the media, through framing strategies, participate in shaping various types of solidarity, ranging from moral-religious solidarity to solidarity based on place and material interests.

Comparative analysis also reveals important differences in how the two media construct the spatial dimensions of the movements related to the sea fence. These spatial dimensions are important because, as argued by Satria (Satria, 2015), space is not only a physical setting but also an arena for contestation of meaning in contemporary social movements. *Republika* tends to frame the sea fence in a broader spatial context, linking it to national phenomena such as land reclamation in Jakarta Bay. The news article "From Cangkir Island, a 'Mysterious' Sea Fence is Built" (January 9, 2025) explicitly makes this connection: "They say they want to fill it in," said one resident. He was referring to the widespread coastal reclamation in Jakarta Bay." (*Republika.co.id*, 2025b).

This framing creates what Gunawan and Visser (Gunawan & Visser, 2012) refer to as a transnational spatial narrative, where local phenomena are integrated into broader patterns. This practice expands the significance of the sea fence from a local issue to a manifestation of national or even global trends in the privatization of public space and the commodification of natural resources.

In contrast, *Kabar Banten* frames the sea fence within a more specific and localized spatial context. This localized orientation shifts the narrative from a generalized environmental dispute to one deeply embedded in the spatial realities and administrative jurisdictions of coastal communities. By doing so, the media situates the issue not merely as a matter of policy violation, but as a lived experience shaped by the socio-political dynamics of the affected area. *The news article "Dozens of Fishermen Demolish Sea Fence in Tanara, Serang District" (January 26, 2025) details the specific location: "The demolition began with a visit to the Pedaleman Village Office in Tanara District, Serang Regency. There, Abdul Gofur held discussions with the Village Head of Padaleman, Acting Head of the Serang Regency Fisheries Office Rochyan Aglan, and representatives of Tanara District."* (*Kabar Banten*, 2025c).

This detailed account underscores the geographical precision and administrative involvement highlighted by the report. The presence of local leaders and government officials in the dialogue reflects a participatory governance process and emphasizes the bottom-up dimension of the resistance. Moreover, this framing strategy reinforces the significance of place-based knowledge and community engagement in environmental conflicts, illustrating how local actors articulate their claims and assert spatial rights in the face of perceived ecological and regulatory injustices.

This particular spatial framing, as discussed by (Budianta, 2006), illustrates how local media constructs a strong sense of place in narrating social movements. By embedding the issue within a concrete and familiar geographic context, local media not only provides contextual clarity but also cultivates a deeper emotional and cultural resonance for its audience. The articulation of place serves as a discursive strategy that fosters a stronger identification between the local community and the issue at stake. Such a practice enhances the perceived relevance of the issue for the local population and legitimizes grassroots responses. In this sense, spatial framing fulfills a dual function: it elevates the immediacy and urgency of the conflict within the local sociopolitical landscape while simultaneously validating bottom-up actions as both rational and necessary. From this perspective, local media acts as a conduit for amplifying marginalized voices and reinforcing collective claims to spatial and environmental justice.

The differences in spatial construction have implications for how the sea fence phenomenon is understood as a socio-religious movement. *Republika*'s broader spatial framing facilitates the integration of this phenomenon into a larger narrative about moral-religious social justice, while *Kabar Banten*'s more specific spatial framing reinforces place-based solidarity and material interests. A comparative analysis of the framing in *Republika* and *Kabar Banten* also reveals significant differences in how the two media construct and represent the relationship between theological and ecological dimensions in the sea fence phenomenon. These differences reflect a broader contestation over how the relationship between humans, God, and nature (particularly the sea) is interpreted in contemporary Indonesia.

Republika, although not explicitly using ecotheological terminology, constructs a narrative that integrates moral-religious aspects with ecological concerns. This framing is in line with what Gade (Gade, 2019) refers to as Islamic environmentalism, where concern for the environment is based on Islamic ethical principles regarding human responsibility as *khalifah*. In *Republika*'s narrative, sea fences are not only symbols of socio-economic injustice but also representations of

violations of cosmological principles regarding the harmonization of humans with nature, which has a spiritual dimension.

Conversely, *Kabar Banten* frames ecological issues related to sea fences within a more secular framework, emphasizing environmental impacts primarily from socio-economic and scientific perspectives. This framing reflects what Ferrol-Schulte et al. (Ferrol-Schulte et al., 2014) identified as a techno-managerial approach to coastal environmental issues in Indonesia, where technical and administrative solutions are prioritized over moral-spiritual reform. In *Kabar Banten*'s narrative, marine ecosystem degradation is framed primarily as a problem of resource management and spatial planning, without significant theological dimensions.

This contestation of narratives has important implications for how coastal environmental movements in Indonesia are understood and mobilized. As argued by Rakhmat (2022), an eco-theological framing can activate different types of solidarity and motivation compared to a techno-managerial framing (Rakhmat, 2022). In the context of Indonesia's religious society, the integration of environmental concerns and religious values, as reflected in the *Republika* framing, has the potential to create stronger cultural resonance and a broader basis for mobilization.

However, as noted by Armitage and Marschke (2013), framing that places excessive emphasis on the moral-religious dimension runs the risk of overlooking the structural and institutional factors that drive coastal environmental degradation. While moral and religious narratives can effectively raise collective awareness and foster a sense of ethical responsibility, their dominance in public discourse may inadvertently obscure critical aspects such as governance systems, regulatory enforcement, policy gaps, and institutional accountability. This imbalance may hinder the development of comprehensive responses that address the underlying drivers of ecological problems, particularly those rooted in socio-political structures and legal frameworks. In this context, *Kabar Banten*'s more pragmatic and policy-oriented framing presents a significant advantage in identifying and promoting practical solutions to ecological issues related to sea fences. By focusing on administrative procedures, jurisdictional clarity, and the functional roles of institutions, this approach sheds light on the mechanisms through which environmental degradation is produced, managed, and contested. Furthermore, it facilitates the formulation of actionable recommendations for local authorities, stakeholders, and affected communities, thus contributing to more systemic and sustainable interventions. This type of framing also underscores the importance of collaborative environmental governance—where ecological restoration is pursued not only through moral or cultural appeals, but through coherent policy integration and institutional responsiveness.

Conclusion

An analysis of the framing of sea walls along the northern coast of Banten by *Republika* and *Kabar Banten* reveals significant differences in how the two media represent this phenomenon as a manifestation of social, religious, or hybrid movements with eco-theological dimensions. *Republika* tends to construct narratives with moral-religious and eco-theological dimensions inherent in social movements, while *Kabar Banten* emphasizes socio-economic aspects and local community solidarity without explicit religious dimensions.

These framing differences not only reflect the editorial orientation of the media but also represent a contestation of narratives about how religious-social movements are interpreted in contemporary Indonesia. *Republika*, with its affiliation to the Muslim community, integrates Islamic values of social justice into its framing of the sea fence phenomenon, though it does not explicitly use religious terminology. Conversely, *Kabar Banten*, with its focus on local communities, frames the same phenomenon within the framework of socio-economic rights and place-based solidarity.

These findings deepen our understanding of the complex interactions between social, ecological, and religious aspects in community movements in Indonesia. Bruinessen (Van Bruinessen, 2013) shows that the hybridity of social activism and religious values varies. The sea fence case illustrates the role of media in constructing narratives about the relationship between religion, ecology, and social movements. This study also highlights eco-theology as an arena of discursive contestation. *Republika* links the narrative to Islamic eco-theological concepts, while

Kabar Banten focuses more on the technical aspects of environmental management. These differences reflect broader contestations in Indonesia's public discourse (Gade, 2019).

The findings of this study have several theoretical implications. First, this study expands Entman's framing theory in the Indonesian context, showing the manifestation of framing functions by media with different orientations. Second, it enriches the understanding of religious-social movements in the digital age, revealing the role of online media in constructing narratives of social, ecological, and religious relations. Third, this study highlights narrative contestation in a fragmented media ecosystem, which influences community solidarity. Fourth, this study enriches the ecotheology literature in Indonesia by showing the dynamics of the integration of religious values and ecological awareness in environmental issues.

The findings of this study have significant implications for various stakeholders. For media practitioners, the importance of critical reflection on framing strategies that influence public understanding of social movements and the role of religion and ecology is highlighted. Activists and civil society organizations need to be aware of the impact of media narratives in building solidarity and support, and develop more effective communication strategies. For policymakers, the complexity of the representation of socio-religious-ecological movements requires a nuanced approach in responding to community aspirations. Coastal communities, especially in northern Banten, can utilize insights into the representation of their issues in media discourse to strengthen their advocacy for rights and interests.

Recommendations for future research include broader exploration of media, longitudinal studies on the evolution of framing, and integration of framing analysis with audience reception studies. Comparative research in other regions could also enrich understanding of the socio-cultural contexts that influence the framing of environmental issues. Overall, this study deepens our understanding of the role of media in shaping the narrative of socio-religious-ecological movements in Indonesia.

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